

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO ALL DIPLOMATIC POSTS PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 108501

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UNGA, XF, IS

SUBJECT: MIDDLE EAST ISSUES IN MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY -
ISRAELI UNGA SUSPENSION AND ZIONISM/RACISM

1. IN 1975 DURING SERIES OF SUMMER MEETINGS, PROPOSALS
LOOKING TOWARD SUSPENSION OF ISRAEL FROM 30TH UNGA WERE
LAUNCHED AND MOVED ALONG UNTIL DEFLECTED AT OAU SUMMIT AT
KAMPALA AND LIMA NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE. US IS AGAIN CON-
CERNED THAT THERE MAY BE ANOTHER ATTEMPT TO SUSPEND ISRAEL
FROM UNGA AND DEPARTMENT WOULD LIKE ALL POSTS TO BE WELL
AWARE OF OUR POSITION ON THIS VITAL ISSUE, AND QUESTION OF
ZIONISM/RACISM, SO THAT THEY MAY BE EXPLAINED AS OCCASION
ARISES TO HOST GOVERNMENTS.

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2. LAST YEAR'S EFFORTS AT BLOCKING SUSPENSION ISSUE WERE

SUCCESSFUL BECAUSE OF SERIES OF FACTORS: EARLY AND CLOSE ATTENTION TO ISSUE, CAREFUL CONSULTATION WITH EC-9 AND NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL TO COORDINATE DEMARCHES, REPRESENTATIONS TO STATES SETTING FORTH U.S. POSITION BEFORE THE MEETINGS BEGAN, AND STRONG PUBLIC STATEMENT BY SECRETARY KISSINGER JULY 14 IN MILWAUKEE. RELEVANT KEY PARAGRAPHS IN THIS STATEMENT SAID THAT TO EXCLUDE COUNTRIES FROM PARTICIPATION IN UN ACTIVITIES BY MEANS OTHER THAN THOSE PROVIDED

IN ARTICLES 5 & 6 OF UN CHARTER (WHICH SPECIFY SUSPENSION OR EXPULSION MUST BE RECOMMENDED TO GENERAL ASSEMBLY BY SECURITY COUNCIL) BECAUSE THEIR POLICIES ARE DISLIKED, COULD THREATEN THE INTEGRITY AND SURVIVAL OF THE BODY WHICH EXCLUDES THEM. ARBITRARY IMPOSITION OF SUCH A DECISION OVER THE OPPOSITION OF MEMBER STATES WHICH PROVIDE VITAL SUPPORT TO THE ORGANIZATION COULD JEOPARDIZE THE CONTINUING VIABILITY OF THE UN. FURTHERMORE, IF UN IS TO DO SERIOUS BUSINESS AND TO COME TO GRIPS REALISTICALLY WITH IMPORTANT PROBLEMS, IT WOULD BE ILLOGICAL TO EXCLUDE FROM PARTICIPATION COUNTRIES WHOSE POLICIES THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IS TRYING TO INFLUENCE.

3. 1975 SUSPENSION DRIVE PETERED OUT AT LIMA NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE WHEN ARAB PROMOTERS COULD NOT GET ENOUGH SUPPORT FOLLOWING OAU DECISION IN KAMPALA NOT TO BACK RADICAL ARAB DEMANDS. HOWEVER ANTI-ISRAELI FEELING SURFACED IN UN THROUGH ZIONISM/RACISM VOTE IN NOVEMBER.

4. EARLY INDICATIONS ARE THAT MOST AFRICAN AND NON-ALIGNED POSITIONS WOULD TEND TO REMAIN THE SAME IF ISSUE WERE TO ARISE AGAIN. HOWEVER, IN ABSENCE OF REAL NEGOTIATIONS PROGRESS, AND IN LIGHT OF RECENT VORSTER VISIT WITH RABIN IN JERUSALEM PRESSURES ON THOSE NON-ALIGNED WHO OPPOSED PURSUING ISRAELI SUSPENSION ISSUE MAY INCREASE AND THEY MAY FIND IT INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT NOT TO SUPPORT EFFORTS INSTIGATED BY RADICALS.

5. FOR POSTS WHERE FOREIGN MINISTERS WILL ATTEND ISLAMIC FOREIGN MINISTERS CONFERENCE, ISTANBUL, MAY 10-14: OUR PRINCIPAL CONCERN WITH RESPECT TO THIS MEETING IS POSSIBLY CONFIDENTIAL

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BILITY THAT SUSPENSION ISSUE MAY AGAIN BE LAUNCHED AS IT WAS LAST YEAR AT JIDDA. ISSUE WAS NOT RAISED AT DAKAR AFRO-ARAB FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING APRIL 20-23 AND WE HAVE NO HARD INFORMATION THAT IT WILL BE RAISED AT ISTANBUL. WHILE WE DO NOT WISH TO HIGHLIGHT POSSIBILITY OF MOVE AGAINST ISRAEL BY TOO MUCH OR TOO EARLY ATTENTION; DEPARTMENT BELIEVES IT IMPORTANT THAT NEA, AF, AND EA POSTS IN CAPITALS OF ISLAMIC CONFERENCE STATES IN COURSE

OF NORMAL EXCHANGES PRIOR TO ISLAMIC FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING DRAW ON MATERIALS IN PARAS 8-10 IN STRESSING TO HOST GOVERNMENT HOW IMPORTANT WE BELIEVE ISSUE TO BE FOR FUTURE OF UN AND US ROLE IN UN.

6. FOR POSTS IN
BELGRADE, COLOMBO, DAR ES SALAAM, KATHMANDU,
KINSHASA, KUALA LUMPUR, KUWAIT, LIMA, MONROVIA, NEW DELH
MISSIONS SHOULD ENSURE THAT REPRESENTATIONS ON THIS ISSUE
IF NOT ALREADY MADE BE INCLUDED IN DISCUSSION WITH HOST
GOVERNMENT
WELL IN ADVANCE OF MAY 30 ALGIERS MEETING OF NON-ALIGNED
COORDINATING COMMITTEE FOREIGN MINISTERS.(ALGIERS,
GEORGETOWN, DAKAR, MOGADICIO, DAMASCAS SHOULD MAKE SIMILAR
REPRESENTATION AT POST'S DISCRETION.)

7. OTHER POSTS IN NON-ALIGNED CAPITALS SHOULD INCLUDE
REPRESENTATIONS ON THIS ISSUE A NORMAL COURSE OF DIPLO-
MATIC DISCUSSIONS KEEPING IN MIND OAU MEETING IN JULY AND
NON-ALIGNED SERIES OF MEETINGS IN COLOMBO IN AUGUST.

8. TALKING POINTS ON SUSPENSION ISSUE:

A. US REMAINS COMPLETELY OPPOSED TO SUSPENSION OR EX-
CLUSION OF ISRAEL OR ANY OTHER UN MEMBER FROM UNGA OR
ANY PART OF UN SYSTEM ESPECIALLY WHEN ATTEMPTED THROUGH
MANIPULATION OF CHARTER APPROVED PROCEDURES. THIS IS
MATTER OF PRINCIPLE AS WELL AS FOR THE SAKE OF UN (ACTION
POSTS MAY WHERE APPROPRIATE RECALL EFFORTS LAST YEAR AT
OAU MEETING WHICH HALTED MOMENTUM OF RADICALS TO MOVE FOR
ISRAEL SUSPENSION).

B. SUSPENSION OF ANY UN MEMBER, ESPECIALLY A SMALL NATION,
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IS BAD PRECEDENT AS PROCESS COULD BE USED AGAINST OTHERS.
FURTHERMORE, SUSPENSION BY USE OF CREDENTIALS PROCESS IS
NOT IN ACCORDANCE WITH UN CHARTER WHICH STATES THAT MEMBER
STATE MAY BE DEPRIVED OF ITS RIGHTS ONLY ON RECOMMENDATION
OF SECURITY COUNCIL.

C. UN HAS BEEN MOVING IN DIRECTION OF UNIVERSAL MEMBER-
SHIP AND STEPS TO LIMIT RIGHTS OF MEMBERSHIP BECAUSE OF
DISAPPROVAL OF POLICIES WOULD INEVITABLY WEAKEN UN.

D. FAR FROM CREATING MORE US PRESSURE ON ISRAEL, SUCH A
MOVE WOULD HAVE EFFECT OF INCREASING SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL
IN THE US AND WOULD UNDERCUT THOSE IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND
ELSEWHERE WHO ARE WORKING FROM THE PREMISE THAT LEADING
ARAB GOVERNMENTS ARE PREPARED TO ACCEPT ISRAEL AND MAKE

PEACE.

E. PUBLIC REACTION TO ANY SUCH MOVE IN WEST WOULD WEAKEN SUPPORT FOR UN, PERHAPS BEYOND REPAIR, AND, OF ALMOST EQUAL IMPORTANCE, MAKE FURTHER PROGRESS IN MIDDLE EAST PEACE NEGOTIATIONS EVEN MORE DIFFICULT.

F. US HAS MADE MAJOR EFFORT AT 7TH SPECIAL SESSION OF UNGA AND CONTINUING AT UNCTAD IV TO OFFER CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSALS TO MEET PRESSING ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF LDCS (FORTHCOMING CIRCULAR ON UNCTAD CAN BE USED TO ILLUSTRATE THIS). US PUBLIC AND CONGRESS MAY NOT BE AS RESPONSIVE

IN FUTURE ON NORTH-SOUTH ECONOMIC ISSUES IN UN SYSTEM IF WE DO NOT RECEIVE CAREFUL CONSIDERATION OF OUR VIEWS ON KEY POLITICAL ISSUES IMPORTANT TO US IN UN SYSTEM.

9. TALKING POINTS ON ZIONISM AS RACISM:

(WHILE ISRAELI SUSPENSION ISSUE WAS NOT RAISED AT DAKAR, ISSUE OF ZIONISM AS RACISM WAS RAISED ALTHOUGH IN PRO FORMA MANNER. DRAFT DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES CONDEMNS ZIONISM AS ONE OF SEVERAL QTE ISMS UNQTE INCLUDING COLONIALISM AND IMPERIALISM AS A FORM OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION. US STAND ON ZIONISM AS RACISM RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT 30TH UNGA IS ABSOLUTELY CLEAR AND WE HAVE SAID THAT WE WOULD NOT CONFIDENTIAL

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PARTICIPATE IN ANY MEETINGS WHERE THIS FORMULA IS IN VOTE. TO OUR REGRET, THIS ISSUE HAS MADE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR US TO PARTICIPATE IN THE PROGRAMS OF THE DECADE OF ACTION AGAINST RACIAL DISCRIMINATION. IN REVIEWING SUBJECT WITH HOST GOVERNMENT, YOU SHOULD USE STATE 259569 (75). APPROACHES AGAIN SHOULD BE LOW KEY AND GUIDANCE IN PARAS 2, 3, 4 ABOVE APPLIES. FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL TALKING POINTS FOR YOUR USE.)

A. IMPACT OF ZIONISM AS RACISM ISSUE HAS POTENTIAL NEGATIVE EFFECT ON US PUBLIC AND CONGRESS ALMOST AS GREAT AS IMPACT OF ILLEGAL SUSPENSION PRODUCING COMPARABLE RESULTS.

B. (FOR AFS) CONTINUED REFERENCE TO ZIONISM AS RACISM EITHER EXPLICITLY OR IMPLICITLY AT INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS CAN BE SELF-DEFEATING IN TERMS OF US INVOLVEMENT IN DECADE MANIFESTATIONS AGAINST APARTHEID.

C. ISSUE HAS BEEN WISELY MUTED BY MANY AFRICAN AND SOME ARAB STATES AT RECENT MEETINGS IN PARIS (APRIL UNESCO MEETING ON DRAFTING RECOMMENDATION ON ACCESS TO CULTURE)

AND NEW YORK (SPRING ECOSOC MEETING). SOVIETS AND EES
APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN SYSTEMATICALLY AGITATING THIS ISSUE
WHICH THEY APPARENTLY FEEL IS USEFUL TO THEM IN POLARIZING
RELATIONSHIPS IN UN RATHER THAN WORKING TOWARDS CONSENSUS.

10. POSTS USING THESE DISCUSSION POINTS MAY WISH TO IN-
FORM HELPFUL MISSIONS IN THEIR CAPITALS POINTING OUT THAT
US ACTION IS LOW KEY AND NOT IN FORM OF FORMAL
DEMARCHE BUT THAT SIMILAR FLAGGING OF PROBLEM BY OTHER
WESTERN STATES WOULD BE DESIRABLE IN CASES WHERE THESE
STATES INFLUENTIAL.

11. FOREGOING IS FOR INFORMATION ONLY TO POSTS OTHER
THAN THOSE MENTIONED IN PARAS 5, 6, AND 7 ABOVE BUT MAY
BE REFERENCED FOR ACTION AT LATER DATE. SISCO

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